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skill shown by those who assisted, as well as the generosity of X, regulates the disbursements.

The following presents of money were given at a potlatch held about 1890, and were considered reasonable.

For painting two designs[a] on the front outside wall of the house	$ 40.00
For the erection of four upright posts, supporting the walls and roof of the house	30.00
For each longitudinal beam with painting	20.00
For each cross-beam, without painting	10.00
For the planking of the side walls[b]	100.00
For painting the rear wall of house, which is also the outside wall of the back-room[c]	40.00

An average totem-pole would cost perhaps $150, but the prices varied greatly with size, complexity of design, and skill displayed.

The next distribution is of goods to repay debts which X has incurred at previous potlatches, that is, to return "investment presents" then received (I, p. 232). This is known as *hidjut*, "repay," and the word is applied to all kinds of repayments, including revenge. One of a chief's difficulties is to remember his indebtedness. He may have been a guest at twenty potlatches, and at each has received presents varying in value, not only from different donors, but from other people associated with them. To keep these accurately in mind is hard but essential, and parents carefully train their children to do so.

As previously mentioned, the Bella Coola have no fixed scale of interest on debts. Careful inquiries made on that point disclosed the idea to be entirely foreign. The greater the interest, the greater does the donor show himself to be. If, for example, X received an investment present of one hundred blankets from a Bella Bella chief ten years previously,

[a] When two are painted, that on the left of the central door on entering purveys X's father's crest, that on the right his mother's.

[b] Four men would work together on this task.

[c] Two men would work together at this, the choice of designs corresponding to those of the outside front.

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rite, *nuxáxkâmy*. This can be described here, since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach children the principles of present-giving and indebtedness. February is the proper month for *nuxáxkâmy*, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a *nuxáxkâmy* dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a *nuxáxkâmy* name is not embodied in a myth, but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission would never be refused. There must be a song with each name and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one appellation of this type is *Tspúnar*, Fawn, and the accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Xpáew*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

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852 867 principal instructors, aided by the professional musicians. Boys are always willing to act as singers for the practice they [533] receive, and the gifts they will acquire. Other lads are chosen to act as heralds, an effort being made in each case to pick those likely to pursue these professions.

[196] The day finally selected for the ceremony is in February, on a date when nothing of importance is taking place. The juvenile heralds summon the child guests, who have been invited in accordance with the rules governing a potlatch, especial care being taken to omit none to whom the child donor is indebted. His father carefully instructs him in this matter, thus impressing on his son's mind one of the fundamental points of Bella Coola life. In the late afternoon, when all have [535] assembled, the boy singers beat out the donor's song and he dances to it. It may be in the nature of a *ɬsaok*, *a'alk*, or *kusiut* dance, according to the wishes of his parents. In many cases, one of the grandparents or some other old relative likewise dances to the song, using whatever style he chooses. There is no ceremonial significance to the ceremony and all enjoy themselves immensely, especially the adult guests. After [553] the dancing, the new name is announced and presents are given to the guests. The father of the young donor carefully instructs him as to the scale of his gifts, emphasizing the necessity of rewarding the singers and heralds, and of repaying with interest those children from whom he has received favours. In this way, the ceremony serves as a practical example of how to conduct a potlatch. The parents of the donor always provide some tasty food for the occasion, and this is distributed after [554] the gifts have been handed round. The necessity for food and presents makes it impossible for any but the children of chiefs to enjoy this training.

After the ceremony, the children parade up and down the sidewalk in front of the houses, singing boisterously. The performance has been for their benefit and they wish to "show off." One night completes the affair, but the following afternoon another child may summon his comrades to a similar

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ceremony. The child singers first beat out the song of the present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, *nusäxkämɣ* ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is beaten out. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a youth to be concerned with *nusäxkämɣ* and he normally becomes an *a'alk*.

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there were two types of *nusäxkämɣ* ceremonial; one of the humorous pattern above described in which, however, food alone was given away, and another in which miniature presents were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the themes consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere children.

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before their birth. When the mother of the twin described in the last paragraph was awaiting delivery in a temporary shelter in the woods, its roof fell, cutting her head. The old woman who mentioned this occurrence stated that both her grandmother, the Sockeye Salmon, and her sister, a Spring Salmon, though still unborn, were aware of the accident and remembered the comments of the midwife.

On account of their uncanny power, twins are considered weaklings and usually die young in spite of the care lavished upon them and the taboos observed by their parents.[1] A dead twin, instead of being buried, is put in a box which is placed in a tree far away from the village. Every year the river changes its course, eating into its banks in order to reach the tree containing the body, and this continues until it reaches its goal and sweeps away tree and coffin.

Childhood Instruction

When working in the field, an anthropologist almost inevitably concentrates upon ceremonials and other epochs in an individual's life, to the detriment of the daily routine which in Bella Coola, as everywhere else, is fundamentally important although it defies description on account of its intangibility. A child grows up in a large house, occupied by several families, in which there is little privacy. The parents provide food and clothing, but more distant relatives take a greater share of responsibility for this than do white people. When food is being given out, a child soon learns that he will be given some of it, and that he will have his portion in any distribution of presents. Furniture, bedding, and other necessities are reduced to a minimum, but a boy or girl is welcome to sleep with relatives should his own parents wish to go hunting or fishing. The sense of power possessed by a Bella Coola with many relations is largely intangible, but it has practical applications as

[1] It is probable that the arduous life led by a twin and its parents during the first year after birth lessens its chances of survival. Needless to say, this explanation does not find favour with the Bella Coola.

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855 well, and these are soon learnt by the child who is fortunate
[867] enough to have many kinsmen. Primarily, responsibility rests with the parents for the care and support of their offspring, but they have the advice, assistance, and material aid of their relatives. Nor are these limited to the near kindred of either father or mother; all members of the ancestral family take their part. Housemates, also, even if unrelated, take an interest in any child who shares their habitation, irrespective of his rank.

Much of the care bestowed on children is of a magical nature and must be reserved until a later chapter. Little boys
868 follow their fathers on hunting expeditions and so acquire knowledge by practical experience, as do girls from their mothers with regard to household tasks and feminine occupations.
867 Even small children are quick to notice the attention paid to the orders of chiefs, and carry out their commands without
861 demur. A disobedient child is beaten or thrown into cold water; the parents usually act in such cases, though a near relative does not hesitate to do so, especially if he is a chief.
857 Like all other children, Bella Coola boys and girls are fond of
867 stories and listen eagerly to the tales told in the long evenings by some old man or woman. Many of these are somewhat
538 obscene, but they serve to teach much ancient lore, and at the same time to emphasize many taboos and restrictions which are thus assimilated without definite schooling. They illus-
[626] trate the laws of morality, as does the public disapproval shown to anyone who infringes some point of etiquette or behaviour.
[825] If a child makes fun of a cat-fish or a bull-head, he is not told to stop doing so; instead, one of his elders tells him how, in the distant past, there was a famine, and advises him not to scoff at the fish which alone saved his ancestors from starvation at that time. If a rude little boy laughs at a maimed or deformed
[732] man, he is told of *Ălălāls*, a Bella Bella urchin who repeatedly mocked a one-eyed man and presently, himself, lost the sight of an eye.

867 "Don't laugh at cripples, blind people, or those who are
[735]

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poverty-stricken," say the elders. "If you do, you will become like them yourself."

As a boy grows older, his father insists that he wash, pray, and practise other ritual acts likely to win approval from supernatural beings. He is frequently beaten to inure him to hardship. By the time a youth is eleven or twelve years of age he has become fully acquainted with the principles of the potlatch system and a wise parent teaches him to remember debts. Taking his son to some quiet spot in the woods, he makes a small bundle of cedar twigs, for example, and tells him:

"So-and-so at Bella Bella gave you fifteen beaver skins. When you see this bundle you must think of those skins."

Then he takes another bunch, perhaps of spruce twigs, to represent a present from a Rivers Inlet chief. A bundle of nettle fibre may stand for a Kimsquit debt; one ornamented with a tuft of undyed cedar-bark, a gift from a *Tăl·ío* chief; a solid piece of alder stem, a local debt; another section of alder stem with a notch in it, another local debt, and so on. The son is expected to listen attentively, and to repeat after his father what each represents. Then the pupil turns his back and the instructor alters the positions of the bundles. His father tells him to look at them and repeat what each signifies. This is repeated time after time until a boy becomes familiar with remembering debts by means of symbols. In later years, if he becomes a chief, he will use this method for bearing his indebtedness in mind. No system of standardized signs has been evolved, each individual merely designates what he wishes by a mark which he alone can recognize.

A child grows up in the community, absorbing information and lore without conscious effort, learning the activities which he will later practise, fearing the supernatural beings that are dreaded by his parents, marvelling at the power of those endowed with supernatural ability, and generally fitting himself for the struggle of life. If his parents are wealthy, he may be fortunate enough to be given a *sisaok* name and to partake in

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867 imitation potlatches, but he cannot himself carry out a cere-
556 mony until he has reached manhood.

Puberty Rites

881 The change from childhood to adult age is, of course, more obvious with girls than with boys, and the former alone must observe strict taboos. Menstrual blood, like that which follows delivery, is unclean, especially that emitted at the first dis-
[784] charge. A woman who has just given birth is a *sxaiäx*; an adolescent girl, a *sxyaxwi*, that is, "A Person Not Fully Tabooed"; the attitude with which the former is regarded is held, in a lesser extent, for the latter.

At the first indication, the girl asks a woman to inform her mother of her condition, and goes home immediately if she happens to be away at the time. Her parents at once make a small enclosure or bedroom of planks or matting in either of the front corners of the house, providing it with a trap-door and ladder by which she can leave without passing through the front door. There the girl must lie for four days, with legs close together and bent at the knees, never stretched out straight. She is not allowed to drink anything, and must eat sparingly; if she should consume much food, she would be greedy when an adult. When necessary for her to leave the enclosure, a woman must always accompany her. Her mother, or some other female relative, provides her with the usual soft cedar-bark pads. On the fifth day, she leaves her shelter early in the morning with one feminine friend and goes to a secluded pool back in the forest, where she washes for the first time. Then she runs rapidly through the woods, which has the effect of making her a strong woman. Should a girl fail to do this,
[753] she would be afflicted with an illness caused by the salmon, become blind, and die young.

784 For one year an adolescent girl is subject to many restric-
881 tions. Her near approach to the river would offend the salmon and cause them to avoid Bella Coola, so she is not allowed to
[825] draw water, or even to appear on the bank. She may not use

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the front-door facing the river, but has to leave the house through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period[4] she cannot eat fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her comrades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating tasty fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to ameliorate their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a neat

[4] [i.e. - one year after puberty - ANALYST]

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CHAPTER IV

GAMES

517 121 [177] THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

526 [171] [628] Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling. The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which [177] used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

538 [517] The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember [825] many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven outwitted his rivals or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these [867] stories are somewhat indecent; others appear brutally frank,

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but the Bella Coola do not consider this aspect and the children grow up in an atmosphere entirely lacking in restraint of speech. Some stories teach a moral lesson, but they are recounted merely for entertainment. At the present time, no one knows who invented the stories; they have been handed down from dim antiquity and alterations or embellishments are considered improper, while the composition of new tales appears to be unknown.

Another pastime is smoking. Among some Indian tribes the practice has a definite religious significance, but this appears to be lacking among the Bella Coola. Most of the men enjoy either a pipe or cigarettes, and some of the women also indulge, but few carry the habit to excess. All the older people affirmed that their ancestors had smoked for generations. Tobacco was not grown, but kinnikinick, *milix*ʷ', was used, and also a plant known as *lsaix*'. Another smoking mixture was bark of *lsxwatelp*, toasted before a fire until dried and brown, and then crumbled between the hands. These materials have given place entirely to imported tobacco, and the white man's pipe has replaced the native one. The latter consisted of a gooseberry cane from which the pith had been extracted; sometimes a small bowl of elderberry wood was added, but often the mixture to be smoked was simply placed within the end of the hollow stem.

Adults, especially the men, are addicted to gambling. They are fond of placing stakes on a race or other trial of strength, and enjoy all kinds of games of chance. Some of the younger men have mastered a few of the simpler games of cards on which they spend a certain amount of time and money. The favourite gambling game, however, is one found in all parts of the coast, which is played with a pack of fifty-four smoothed crabapple sticks. The rules are complicated and no effort was made to learn more than the general principles. The pieces are divided among the eight or ten contestants and concealed; then one player guesses in whose hand a certain marked stick is hidden. If he is successful, the others pay him a forfeit; if